

**Labour whitewashes the racist cops****For workers revolution to overthrow racist capitalism**

The Stephen Lawrence inquiry, chaired by former High Court judge Sir William Macpherson, concluded that the police are riddled with "pernicious and institutional racism", which is self-evident to Britain's black and Asian minorities. While Labour prime minister Blair lauded the report as part of "a new era in race relations", Stephen Lawrence's mother Doreen expressed the reality: "black people are still dying on the streets and in the back of police vans and it is clear that nothing has changed".

The 1993 murder of Stephen Lawrence took place under the Tory government. Since Blair took office, he has sought to distance himself from the role of the cops at the time. Labour undertook the inquiry to defuse widespread anger over the fact that the cops deliberately let off Stephen Lawrence's racist murderers. Indeed a substantial section of the population, not just minorities, view the police as racist and bigoted. The government is therefore seeking to refurbish the authority of the state.

Labour's public inquiry into the police cover-up was a whitewash. It guaranteed in advance that the fascistic killers would remain free and exonerated the cops who systematically protected them. Labour



Chris Harris

Under Labour or Tory, role of police is to enforce racist capitalist law and order.

spokesmen now mouth pious platitudes purporting to tackle "institutional racism" through legislation. But "race relations" legislation can not alter the scores of black and Asian deaths in police "custody", nor

is it intended. The police are the core of the capitalist state which is necessarily racist, and the capitalist state cannot be anything other than what it is — the instrument for oppression of the working

class by the capitalist rulers — no matter which party administers it. The Labour government is a capitalist government which rules for racist British imperialism.

Labour campaigned in 1997 wrapped in the Union Jack and embracing the bulldog, the symbol of racist and bloody British imperialism. They have engaged in massive terror-bombing of Iraq and unleashed British Army terror against the oppressed Catholics of Northern Ireland. Within months of being elected, Labour fuelled a racist state vendetta against Roma refugees from the Czech Republic and central Europe seeking entry into Britain, from which the fascist National Front took their cue and staged race hate provocations in Dover and London. Labour's Asylum and Immigration Bill cuts off benefit payments to asylum seekers, something the Tories' 1996 Asylum Act tried but failed to do. The new law makes it almost impossible for asylum seekers to obtain entry, further curtails the right of appeal and gives immigration police more draconian powers of arrest and surveillance, including powers to raid workplaces to hunt down "illegal" immigrants.

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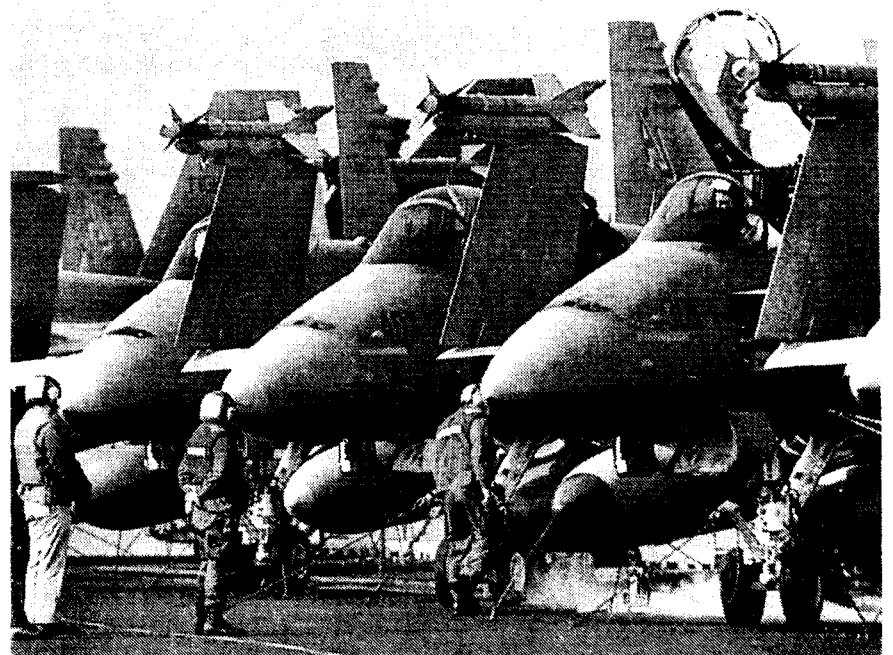
**Britain/US/UN/NATO:
Hands off the Balkans!****Hands off Iraq!**

The adapted article below first appeared in Workers Vanguard no 706, 5 February 1999 and was datelined 31 January. Since then the Rambouillet talks in France ended after 17 days, with the Albanian Kosovars refusing to sign an agreement for "autonomy" for Kosovo despite heavy pressure from US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright. The Guardian (25 February) quoted a European diplomat: "The Americans were very frustrated. They believed that the Albanians would sign up to the whole deal and expose the Serbs as the problem." The talks are slated to begin again on 15 March. Meanwhile the imperialists are bolstering their military presence in the region. The British Labour government has placed forces in the forefront of the military build-up, putting 8000 troops on standby. The most formidable

ground forces on the way to the region are the lead battle group of the British 4 Armoured Brigade which it is reported will form the spearhead of the imperialists' "implementation" force. The Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Forces arrived in Macedonia on 1 March.

The United States and other imperialist powers threatened yesterday to launch massive air strikes against the Serbs if the Yugoslav government does not accord "substantial autonomy" to that country's Albanian-majority province of Kosovo. Hundreds of planes, mainly American, and dozens of ships under NATO command are poised for attacks against Serbia. The US-imposed diktat requires that both Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo send representatives to a "peace" conference in France later this week. The imperialists threaten terror bombing of Serbia if the negotiations are not "satisfactory." The

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Gamma

NATO threatens Serbia with air strikes to impose imperialist diktat in Balkans.

Racism...

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A central slogan of the International Communist League is for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*, reflecting the fact that the immigration question is fundamentally a democratic question which is, however, strategic to proletarian unity. Democratic rights such as this can be won and secured only by the proletariat fighting to take state power away from the bourgeoisie and establish a socialist economy in a society free from exploitation and all oppression. A vital component of the working class in Western Europe includes West Indian, South Asian, North African, Turkish and Kurdish immigrants. They also form a bridge to the worker and peasant masses in the neocolonial world, a living link in an international socialist perspective. To transform this perspective into reality requires above all the construction of revolutionary workers parties, the reforging of the Fourth International based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.



Funeral of Blair Peach, anti-fascist martyr murdered by the British state in 1979.

The murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 occurred early on during the wave of racist terror sweeping Europe, which is a direct product of capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the bureaucratically

deformed workers states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the period 1989-92. This historic defeat led to increased rivalry among the imperialist powers whose ability to compete rests on vastly increasing the rate of exploitation of labour. Despite differences between various European countries, the basic social fact is that large communities of dark-skinned non-Europeans now exist within Western Europe's bourgeois nation-state system. And these communities have become the main target of bourgeois reaction fuelled by counterrevolution, which created untold numbers of refugees. The bourgeoisies have continually tightened their laws with the aim of denying refugees entry into racist "Fortress Europe". These anti-immigrant measures are the cutting edge of attacks on the whole work-

Powell, saying he "was not a racist, he was a British nationalist".

The European social-democratic governments, including New Labour, have an agenda which includes dismantling the "welfare state" which originated following World War II and was maintained when European imperialism needed to secure the support, or at least neutrality, of their working classes for Cold War against the Soviet Union. In the "post-Soviet" world, the bourgeoisies are scrapping these social overhead costs. When British capitalists faced a labour shortage in the postwar period they reluctantly admitted immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean to carry out low-paid work previously undertaken by Irish immigrants, the traditional source of cheap immigrant labour and the "reserve army" of unemployed.

There is a large and growing section of the population for whom British capitalism offers no hope and no future. Chronic unemployment is endemic, for blacks and Asians in the inner cities it can be as high as 60 per cent. The poor who are consigned to the scrapheap are viewed by the ruling class as a potential tinderbox for social unrest. Thus Labour is obsessed with "law and order" ie bolstering the repressive apparatus of the state. Their arsenal includes the anti-union laws, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Crime and Disorder Act. Any new measures stemming from the Macpherson report introduced in the guise of "anti-racism" will be used to strengthen the cops and the state against workers and minorities. The first prosecution under the 1965 Race Relations Act was Michael X, a black man charged with making a speech against racism; Labour's definition of "ra-

Fratricidal nationalism and imperialism in the Balkans



TROTSKY

The Balkan wars in the early years of this century, resulting from the intersection of imperialist rivalries and the nationalist ambitions of the reactionary states in the region, were a prelude to the First World War. The break-up of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state through counterrevolution unleashed a many-sided nationalist bloodbath. Today, the imperialists are planning to occupy the region



LENIN

and are straining at the leash to bomb the Serbs. The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky recognised that only proletarian revolution, leading to a socialist federation, could save the Balkan peoples from fratricidal slaughter and imperialist subjugation.

Because of their geographical and economic position the Balkan and Danubian countries were drawn long ago into the sphere of interests of the imperialist Powers....

The bloody rivalry for the upper hand in the Balkans lasted for decades, but when these rivals out of sheer exhaustion ceased waging war the ruling classes of the Balkan countries who had become their agents and servants continued the war among themselves. The last imperialist war began in the Balkans; it had a prelude in the Balkan war of 1912-13 which ended without complete victory for any of the groups taking part and provided the occasion for the opening of the 1914 war among the imperialist great Powers, to settle finally the question who should rule the Balkan peninsula and control the main roads to Asia and the Mediterranean.

In order to draw the Balkan States into war against one another their imperialist patrons exploited the greed of the bourgeoisie for territorial conquest and enticed them with promises of a 'Great Bulgaria,' 'Great Serbia,' or 'Great Rumania.' They incited the different nationalities against each other, made loans for armaments, taking as pledge the mines and harbours, and in fact transforming these countries into their colonies....

Only the proletariat can avert a new catastrophe by its victory and free the working and peasant masses from economic and national oppression. Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship can unite the masses in a Balkan or Balkan and Danubian federal, socialist, Soviet republic, liberate them both from the feudal capitalist exploitation of their own and the foreign bourgeoisie as well as from colonial servitude and national dissensions. The communist party is called upon by circumstances to play an even greater part in the Balkan peninsula than in the capitalist countries where there are no nationality problems. All the efforts of the Balkan communist parties should be directed to fulfilling this great historical mission of communism in the Balkans.

— "Manifesto to the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and Turkey" (March 1920)



Winston Silcott's father in 1987 protesting the frame-up trial of the Broadwater Farm Three.

ing class. In this country as in France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere, the Social Democrats, ex-Stalinist and Labour parties have taken the reins of capitalist governments, explicitly committed to enforcing brutal austerity and state terror against immigrants and minorities.

Across Europe there has been a sinister rise of organised fascist activity aimed at the mass expulsion of immigrants and racial minorities. But the fascists are simply expressing in an open, unvarnished and violent way the *economic and political interests* of the European ruling classes at the present juncture. European capital now has no need for additional imported labour from Third World countries, while the second-generation immigrant youth are economically redundant and regarded as a source of social unrest.

Mass expulsion of immigrants was the programme of Enoch Powell, the epitome of racist British chauvinism and hero of British fascists. Powell incited terror on the streets against blacks and Asians with his "rivers of blood" speech in 1968. Upon his demise last year, Powell was publicly honoured by a racist consensus of the establishment. This extended from the monarchy to Tory MPs and Labour spokesmen Tony Blair, Frank Field, and Labour "left" Tony Benn who exonerated

cially motivated" crime will criminalise acts of self-defence against racist attack.

The race-hate terrorists who killed Stephen Lawrence, the murderers of Somali student Farhan Mire, and the scum who drowned Asian youth Ricky Reel still stalk the streets, ready to kill again. It is suicidal to rely on the police and the state to deal with the racist killers of Stephen Lawrence, Ricky Reel, Michael Menson and countless others. But this is precisely the underlying strategy of most of the self-styled "leftist" and "revolutionary" organisations, who believe in the efficacy of pressuring the state, especially when Labour is in office. The role of the cops in protecting fascists is not an aberration, it is the norm. Fascists are extra-parliamentary race terrorists, whose ultimate aim is the crushing of the workers movement. They are kept in reserve by the capitalist class to be unleashed in times of acute crisis or working-class upheaval. They must be crushed in the egg by powerful mobilisations of the working class and minorities.

In October 1993, tens of thousands demonstrated against the fascist BNP in Welling, south London, shortly after the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Our banner read "Not wretched appeals to the capital-

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WORKERS HAMMER



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For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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Bolshevik Tendency: still in the camp of Anglo chauvinism

The article adapted below concerns a debate in Canada between our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, and a group belonging to the International Bolshevik Tendency. The article first appeared in Spartacist Canada no 120 (Spring 1999).

For the whole of its existence, the clot of quitters, renegades and accidental elements called the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) have badgered us to debate them one-on-one. This oft-repeated "challenge" has generally provoked distaste in us, and indifference in others. But mostly it has prompted the question: What's to debate? The BT's founding members all individually quit our international organisation. Their current international leader, Bill Logan, is a vicious sociopath who was expelled from our organisation 20 years ago for gross crimes against communist morality and elementary human decency. The BT's occasional "journal", *1917*, has not appeared since 1997.

So it was only at the request of a third party, the Brock Socialist Group, that on 13 February the Trotskyist League debated the Bolshevik Tendency at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario. The Brock Socialists are a student group which has been examining Marxism and sought the debate to further their understanding of Trotskyism. We proposed "The Quebec National Question and the Fight for Socialism" as an appropriate topic, as this is a central question in the fight for proletarian revolution in Canada.

Our advocacy of Quebec independence is key to the struggle to advance revolutionary class consciousness among the workers. As TL spokesman Charles Galarneau explained:

"Chauvinism and nationalism have deeply poisoned the class struggle in both English Canada and Quebec, binding English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their capitalist enemies. This is caused by the continued existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, within the same bourgeois state structure....

"First and foremost, we fight against Maple Leaf chauvinism in the English Canadian working class. We believe with Lenin that 'a proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat'. At the same time, calling for independence helps combat nationalism in Quebec, giving us a hearing to win Quebec workers away from their pro-PQ misleaders."

In sharp contrast, the BT is notorious for opposing Quebec independence. Thus, our speaker noted, the choice of topic for the debate was doubly appropriate: "The BT's overtly Anglo-chauvinist line exposes their opportunist positions and social-democratic appetites—in other words, it exemplifies why the BT has nothing to do with the struggle for a Leninist party acting as a tribune for all the oppressed."

Characteristically, Bolshevik Tendency representative Tom Riley simply ignored the poisonous reality of national oppression and its impact on the consciousness of workers of both nations. Counting his presentation and summary, he spoke for 40 minutes without once acknowledging that Quebec is an oppressed nation, or making a single substantive reference to the existence of Anglo chauvinism. This silence was maintained by the BT through

several rounds of discussion, despite repeated challenges by TL comrades.

Riley sought refuge in historical descriptions of militant actions by the Quebec labour movement, and in appeals for "joint class struggle". Denying or downplaying the crippling effects of chauvinism, racism, etc on working-class consciousness, such facile unity-mongering is counterposed to any struggle against the many forms of special oppression engendered by capitalism. The BT directly echoes the social democrats and labour bureaucrats who present any struggle in defence of the oppressed as disruptive of

cause of Canadian "national unity" did not go unremarked by the Anglo-chauvinist powers-that-be, who officially invited the BT to participate in the flag-waving rally orchestrated by the federal government in Montreal on the eve of the referendum. Comrade Galarneau also noted that the BT's only Quebec member quit over this, publicly denouncing his former comrades for their "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie".

As our speaker emphasised, Quebec is not the first or only place that the BT has embraced the chauvinist status quo. In Britain, their co-thinkers deny that the Scots



Chauvinist "Canadian unity" rally in Montreal, November 1995. BT was officially invited to participate. Below: November 1995 Quebec-nationalist demonstration. ICL's advocacy of Quebec independence key to breaking grip of national chauvinism and advancing revolutionary working-class consciousness.



the "solidarity" of the labour movement.

Of course, Riley claimed the BT upholds the right of self-determination for Quebec. So does most of the English Canadian labour bureaucracy today, on paper. But like the social democrats, in the real world the BT endorses the Anglo-dominated status quo. During the narrowly defeated 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, for instance, the BT openly called for a No vote against Quebec independence. TL spokesman Galarneau remarked that "The BT's call to vote No was a gross capitulation to the Anglo rulers." Indeed, the BT's loyalty to the

and Welsh are in any way oppressed, even as they pursue "joint work" with an outfit, the Socialist Party, which adamantly refuses to call for withdrawal of the murderous British Army from Northern Ireland. In New Zealand, the BT scarcely mentions the brutal oppression of the indigenous black Maori population. "In fact", said comrade Galarneau, "on every national terrain where they exist, the BT is a walking capitulation to their 'own' capitalist rulers".

Our speaker located the source of the BT's wilful blindness on questions of special oppression in the founding impulse of its first members:

"The BT's Anglo-chauvinist position on Quebec is perfectly consistent with their political origins, in the early 1980s, in a series of cowardly flinches over the defence of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state....

"For example, when the Soviet army intervened against CIA-backed Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan in late 1979, we said 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan', calling to 'Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples.' The social democrats and pseudo-leftists, who were howling with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet Union, hated our slogan. At the time, we wrote that if the ET (that's the External Tendency, the BT's precursors) were more honest, they would admit that they hated it, too. Well, it took them a few years, but they finally did admit that, yes, they hated it, arguing that it meant we were putting faith in the Stalinists.

"No. First of all, we were simply expressing our unconditional defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalism. And we also recognised that the deformed expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as represented by the Soviet army, was the only force capable of bringing some measure of liberation, especially to women, in Afghanistan.

"The BT is an organisation which co-opted in reaction to the heat of imperialist Cold War II. From this original capitulation to their own ruling classes, it was a short step down a slippery slope to embracing the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie from Canada to Britain and beyond."

BT v Lenin on revolutionary class consciousness

In his remarks, comrade Galarneau extensively motivated our call for Quebec independence as key to the struggle to remove the barriers to revolutionary class consciousness among workers on both sides of the national divide. This perspective derives from the basic Leninist proposition that without the leadership of a revolutionary party, the working people must remain in thrall to one form or another of bourgeois consciousness, such as national chauvinism. For communists, advocacy of Quebec independence is the means to break the grip of national chauvinism. Unless that grip is broken, the working people cannot be won to a revolutionary socialist perspective.

Denigrating and dismissing the struggle for revolutionary consciousness, the BT substitutes "militant struggle". In fact, Riley's whole presentation rested on a straight equation of class consciousness and simple trade union militancy. His "argument" consisted of a list of binational strikes since the 1960s, many of which were sparked by the explosive Quebec labour movement of the time. On this basis, he denounced our contention that Quebec independence was necessary for the workers of each nation to see their own rulers as the enemy; he mocked our assertion that chauvinism and nationalism were the fundamental roadblock to revolutionary class consciousness, and therefore to successful working-class struggle.

The falsehood that socialist consciousness derives directly from militant struggles over economic demands is hardly new. Lenin called this view economism and attacked it in his 1902 book *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin showed how the working class through its own struggles is unable to spontaneously develop a consciousness any higher than trade union

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consciousness: the need to unite in economic struggle against the employers and government. But trade union consciousness is itself a form of bourgeois consciousness: by itself it does not challenge the capitalist mode of production but only seeks to better the workers' immediate conditions. Revolutionary class consciousness has to be brought into the working class *from the outside*, by a revolutionary party which understands the historic necessity of destroying capitalist exploitation and oppression. Integral to this is the fight for the proletariat to take up the cause of all those strata which suffer special oppression under capitalism.

In his thoroughly economist presentation, Riley never once hinted that the militancy of the Québécois proletariat during the 1960s and 1970s was fuelled by resentment of and opposition to national oppression. When that militancy ran into an Anglo-chauvinist wall of hostility erected by the New Democratic Party and the Canadian Labour Congress leadership, angry Quebec workers were corralled by their own nationalist misleaders into the arms of the bourgeois nationalists of the Parti Québécois. When the TL speaker described the chauvinist opposition to the semi-insurrectionary 1972 Quebec General Strike by the NDP and CLC brass, Riley leapt to defend the social-democratic traitors from any imputation of anti-Quebec bigotry. "The fact is that the NDP and [its leader] David Lewis did the best they could to oppose [the strike] and to scab on it, there's no question about that", Riley declared. "But comrades, they opposed and scabbed on the railway strike in '73, on the postal strike in '78, on the railway strike in '95, etc. etc."

The Anglo-chauvinist social democrats certainly are strikebreakers. Their role is to insure the subordination of the working class to the national interests of the enemy class — and key to that in this country is the ideological glue of Anglo chauvinism. This in turn deepens and hardens the reactionary nationalism instilled by the Quebec labour tops. Yet according to the BT, national chauvinism is simply not a factor. As comrade Galarneau observed, to hear the BT tell it,

"You would not know that the social democrats foment anti-Quebec chauvinism at all. Well, anyone who watches the news knows that the likes of [NDP provincial premiers] Bob Rae, Roy Romanow and Glen Clark have been willing, aggressive point men for the 'national unity' crusade — just as David Lewis was 25 years ago."

A sneering indifference to oppression

The BT's snottily dismissive attitude to the national oppression of the Québécois signals and embodies their capitulation to the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie. Indeed, for Trotskyists it would be hard to imagine an attitude more repulsive or more distant from the Leninist ideal of a tribune of the people than their arrogant contempt for specially oppressed sectors of the societies in which they find themselves. Comrade Galarneau's presentation described a notorious and typical example:

"When we organised a 5000-strong labour/black mobilisation which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington in 1982, the BT spat on this work. One of their members called it 'ghetto work'. The BT accused us of 'abandoning trade-union work'. What can this mean, except that the BT sees the working class as separate from and counterposed to the black plebeian masses — exactly the view of the labour bureaucracy. In fact, our Washington mobilisation brought together in microcosm the forces for American proletarian revolution — black and red. Labour, with

its core centrality of black workers, bringing its power to bear in defence of the ghetto masses, who were also mobilised, all under communist leadership."

Riley showed the same kind of disdain in addressing what he called "the implications" of the TL's position on Quebec for the United States. Stating that "the division between white workers and black workers is at least as serious as the division between anglo- and francophone workers here", the BT spokesman asked demagogically: "What's the conclusion to be drawn there? Is class struggle impossible? Or does it only become possible after black workers are somehow separated from white workers?"

The national oppression of Quebec and the oppression of black people as a race-colour caste within American society are very different questions. However, the racial divide in the US has indeed severely undermined labour struggles against capital. No, that does not make trade union



Workers Vanguard
Five thousand strong labour/black mobilisation, initiated by Spartacist League/US, stopped the fascist KKK in Washington, November 1982.

struggles of black and white workers there "impossible", any more than national chauvinism precludes joint strikes of French- and English-speaking workers in Canada. However, until and unless the American working class becomes the active champion of the cause of black freedom, there will be no revolutionary class consciousness and no socialist revolution in America.

The BT's attitude towards the oppression of Northern Ireland Catholics is similarly steeped in militant indifference. The BT has denounced our simple statement that any imperialist "peace" deal over Ireland would "necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either." But this is a simple statement of fact. The so-called "peace process" in Northern Ireland is premised on maintaining the British Army presence, and it has unleashed huge Loyalist mobilisations and deepened the communal division among the workers.

In fact, the Irish national question exposes the BT's bogus claims to stand in the revolutionary traditions of Marxism. It was precisely over Ireland that Marx and Engels began to define the revolutionary proletarian attitude to national oppression. During the debate, BT spokesman Riley made the absurd charge that our advocacy of Quebec independence meant we had embraced the Stalinist theory of "revolution by stages": "To claim also that proletarian struggle cannot be successful until Quebec is independent implies a kind of two-stage model of social revolution. First we get Quebec independence, then we get a successful proletarian struggle." Comrade Galarneau replied:

"Karl Marx said a long time ago that a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free. Here's what Marx wrote about the Irish national question: 'it is in

the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland.... The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland.' Perhaps the BT will now attack Marx as a proponent of two-stage revolution. In fact, the position of the BT is a straight capitulation to national chauvinism. Our position, like Marx's, is premised on opening the road to proletarian revolution by breaking the hold of chauvinism on the working class."

On paper, the BT is for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. Yet the reality is that the BT's co-thinkers in England have long courted the reformist Socialist Party, without ever mentioning the Socialist Party's despicable line on the British Army presence, or its sponsorship of "former" Loyalist killer Billy Hutchinson. Only after years of exposure by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain did the English BT's *Marxist Bulletin* (January 1999)



Workers Vanguard
Five thousand strong labour/black mobilisation, initiated by Spartacist League/US, stopped the fascist KKK in Washington, November 1982.

print the following justification:

"[The Spartacists] claim to find a great deal of significance in the fact we have not to date written an article criticising the Socialist Party's refusal to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from the north of Ireland. This is indeed a scandalous position for a British left-wing organisation and is indicative of the fundamental problems in their left-reformist programme. But we do not regard this as a sufficient reason to avoid any common work with them on issues where there is agreement nor to consider giving them critical support in elections when appropriate."

Obviously, the BT's paper "principles" are disposable if they interfere with opportunist combinations with open supporters of the murderous British Army and its fascist Loyalist assassins.

Comrade Galarneau noted how "the BT finds the greatest difficulty in criticising the anti-Communist, chauvinist social democrats, and indeed are always happy to unite with them". He cited BT leader Logan's participation in a so-called "International Conference" in South Africa in 1997, one of a number of recent "regroupment" attempts among reformists and centrists internationally. The "base document" for the conference enthusiastically greeted the destruction of the Soviet Union, and denounced the very idea of an internationalist Leninist party, saying: "International parties run the risk of establishing predatory relationships with unaffiliated revolutionary groups." Comrade Galarneau explained our attitude:

"We were invited to this conference, and we declined for obvious reasons, given our fundamental differences with this 'base document'. Instead, we fought independently for our views around the conference."

In contrast, the BT rushed to accept delegate status, signing on to the "base document". As the TL spokesman noted: "Not only were they too happy to attend, they

praised the document as a 'broadly anti-capitalist' document!"

The Bolshevik Tendency: what is it?

The BT cares nothing for the struggles of the oppressed, much less the fight for revolutionary consciousness, because it is not an organisation which seeks proletarian revolution. In fact, it is a peculiar and dubious outfit with a history of insinuating itself in places and among forces which are aimed at doing us harm. Its perpetual slanders of our organisation as a "bureaucratic cult" have even found their way into a premier mouthpiece of the US imperialist ruling class. In the summer of 1995, the *Wall Street Journal* wielded the BT's smears to try to undermine the vitally important defence of black US death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Riley repeated the BT's favoured anti-Communist "cult" theme during the debate, claiming that our change of line to advocate Quebec independence several years ago came from "leader-worship". In fact, as the TL spokesman pointed out:

"You know the world only to the extent that you intervene to change it. On the streets, in the factories — not in some library or in your head. So, we intervened and we learned. And when the question came to a head once again before the '95 referendum, based on all these years of work, we stopped and we thought, we reassessed our position in the fashion of Leninists, and we realised we had been wrong. We figured out — a little late, but in time — that, had we not gone over to the advocacy of Quebec independence, it would have called into question our existence as a revolutionary organisation in this country. I encourage everyone here to read our bulletin 'On the National Question in Quebec', which details not only how we came to change our line to advocacy of Quebec independence, but how a truly Leninist organisation arrives at a correct political line."

Contrast this to the BT and their genuinely strange internal life under Bill Logan, an individual who finds personal gratification in the sadistic exercise of power over others, especially women. Logan delights in orchestrating internal torture sessions called "communist criticism". This was exposed in a bulletin published by a BT split group, which we reprinted as no 8 of our series *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*. The bulletin describes an "internal struggle" inside the BT, of which a highlight was a fist fight between opposing BT factions in the streets of Oakland, California!

In his summary, TL spokesman Galarneau cited this *Hate Trotskyism* series, which makes available many documents written against us by political opponents, including the BT. He noted:

"This is hardly what a bureaucratic organisation would do. Our own history is well documented in the bound volumes of many hundreds of copies of *Workers Vanguard* and elsewhere. With our organisation, what you see is what you get. We are still doing what we set out to do from the beginning — to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian party to lead the working class to power."

Building such a party means struggling to clear away the obstacles to revolutionary consciousness created by the bourgeoisie and perpetuated by its reformist henchmen. As the TL speaker concluded:

"Let me reiterate why calling for Quebec independence is decisive if you want to build a proletarian revolutionary party. It's the only way to break the workers of English Canada from chauvinism, and to shatter the grip of nationalism in Quebec. So I want to say to any members of the Brock Socialists and others who really want to dedicate their life and fight for proletarian revolution, that their place is among the ranks of the International Communist League — the party which uniquely has the programme and perspective to achieve world socialist revolution." ■

Racism...

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ist state! For trade union/minority mobilisations to smash the fascists!" This was in opposition to calls by the demonstration organisers, the Socialist Workers Party and Militant (now the Socialist Party), to appeal to the capitalist state to evict the fascists from their headquarters. The cops viciously attacked the demonstrators and protected the fascist BNP. The trade unions were not mobilised for a display of social power of the integrated working class which could have taught the fascists a lesson and made the cops think twice before attacking the demonstrators.

Break the grip of Labourite social chauvinism

Racism is a direct product of capitalist rule. In this country it has been nurtured by centuries of British imperialist rule, slavery and subjugation of the colonial peoples, and used to divide and rule the working class to impede the forces of social revolution. The main agencies for inculcating poisonous racism within the working class are what Lenin termed "bourgeois workers parties" like the Labour Party, and the Labourite trade union bureaucracy, who tie the workers to their capitalist exploiters.

Racial minorities are not defenceless victims of racist injustice, they are a vital component of the proletariat which has the social power to bring down the rotten system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. The fight against racial oppression can only be advanced through social struggle welding together the defence of minorities with the struggle of the working class as a whole against the capitalist system. Mobilising the power of the proletariat requires a tremendous battle within the workers movement to break the grip of the bureaucracy who police the working class for their capitalist masters. Indeed the Labourite bureaucracy's indifference to racial oppression flows directly from their perspective of class collaboration.

The trade union bureaucracy's sabotage of working-class struggle is personified by the likes of Bill Morris, leader of the TGWU, who knifed the Liverpool dockers and let them go down to defeat. On 11 March, Morris shared a platform in a meeting at the House of Commons alongside a black cop, mouthing off against racism, while the cops are daily herding scabs across the picket lines of the 300 Asian workers, members of Morris' TGWU, who were fired by Lufthansa Sky Chef at Heathrow.

Today the Labour government is privatising services, from London Underground to the hospitals, resulting in massive attacks on jobs, working conditions and public services. In the rail and London Underground unions the bureaucracy is dominated by supporters of Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP), which split from Blair's New Labour and upholds the social chauvinist and pro-imperialist programme of "old" Labour reformism. "Left" bureaucrats such as the SLP's Bob Crow and other nominal "socialists" such as Greg Tucker make sure strikes are partial and token, designed not to win but to pressurise the bosses through the capitalist government. They use craft divisions to weaken the working class, condoning scabbing by ASLEF against the RMT (and vice versa).

During a series of Tube strikes last year we called for mobilising the racially integrated workforce in all London's transport services — rail, Tube and buses — to shut down the City and turn the tables against the arrogant Labour government which oozes contempt for workers and minorities. Solid strike action of transport workers with real picket lines that nothing and



Evening Standard

Demonstration at Lawrence inquiry in London. Movement for Justice/RIL campaign aims to pressurise racist Labour government and capitalist state.

no-one crosses could begin to relegate the anti-union laws to the dustbin. A class-struggle leadership would mobilise the integrated workforce in transport not only in a fight against privatisation, job cuts and wage slashing, but also in massive protest against racist cop terror. In opposition to the bureaucracy, we fight for one industrial union across all of transport — rail, Underground and buses — which must be achieved in the course of class struggle. This is part of the fight to build revolutionary leadership in the trade unions, and to forge a revolutionary workers party.

The capitulation of the trade union bureaucracy to the racist Labour government and their refusal to mount any significant struggle by the integrated working class has created a vacuum for the growth of reactionary separatist movements among racial minorities. Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise among Britain's Muslim-derived Asians as is the Nation of Islam (NOI) among blacks. The NOI, led by Louis Farrakhan, are anti-Semitic, anti-woman racists, apologists for black African slavery in Sudan, who accepted money from a US Klan leader in 1985 and acted as bodyguards for British fascist David Irving in the US in 1996. These separatist forces are sworn enemies of integrated working-class struggle which is essential to fighting the main racist force in this country, the capitalist state.

The state — an instrument of capitalist repression

Even though the Labourite trade union misleadership works to keep the lid on class struggle, the ruling class fears social explosions such as the inner-city revolts against racist police terror in Brixton, Handsworth and Toxteth in the 1980s, which set Britain alight. The experience of this period illustrates that the interests of workers and minorities must either go forward together or they will fall back separately. In 1984-85, the underlying anger and frustration of black and Asian communities was galvanised behind the heroic miners strike which confronted the capitalist state in major battles on the picket lines. Black and Asian communities were among the best allies of the striking miners. Many miners recognised the need to fight against racism, seeing that on picket lines they encountered the same enemy that minorities faced every day — the capitalist rulers and their cops.

The miners strike, a crucial battle for the working class, sharply confirmed the need to break with the Labourite bureaucracy, both "left" and right, who all did their bit to knife the miners in the back. Miners leader Arthur Scargill took the strike to the limits of trade union militancy, but this was not enough. The Spartacist League uniquely fought to extend

the strike, particularly to the key rail and dock unions, to shut down the country — this would have posed the question of power, of which class shall rule. Scargill's concept of "power" did not go beyond the idea of a parliamentary Labour government, which is the perspective of his Socialist Labour Party today.

In the wake of the defeat of the miners the police staged massive provocations in minority areas, and killed two black women — Cherry Groce in Brixton and Cynthia Jarrett in Tottenham. There were

have abandoned any pretence of offering reforms and are openly acting as capitalism's attack dogs against workers and racial minorities. It is not an accident that self-styled "socialist" groups who march behind mainstream social democracy and welcomed counterrevolution in the USSR have now revised or discarded positions that used to be considered axiomatic for ostensible leftists. The Communist Party of Great Britain is among the worst in this regard; their accommodation to bourgeois rule includes their astounding claim that the capitalist state is now anti-racist (see article this issue).

Other Labourite left groups also look for the solution to racism from within the racist capitalist state itself. To this end they put forward endless suggestions as to what the capitalist government should do to revamp the image of the cops. The reformist Socialist Party (SP) are notorious for embracing the armed forces of British imperialism from the British Army and the RUC in Northern Ireland to the British cops, whom they portray as "workers in uniform". Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky demolished this drivel: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next?*, January 1932).

The SP say: "The only way to begin to remove racism and other backward prejudices from the police is to make them democratically accountable... Why shouldn't police chiefs be elected, and sacked if they're not doing a good job?" They offer



Workers Hammer

SL contingent at 16 October 1993 anti-fascist mobilisation in Welling, London.

uprisings of youth (mainly racially integrated) against police terror in many major cities. The vindictive state campaign against Winston Silcott, a black youth from Tottenham who was first framed up for the murder of a cop, dates back to 1985. Silcott languishes in jail today — when the original case collapsed he was again framed for an act of self-defence. *Free Winston Silcott!*

The whole capitalist state machine must be shattered by revolution and replaced by a new state power of the working class. Lenin insisted that this question must be clearly understood. The state consists of "special bodies of armed men", with its "prisons and repressive institutions of all kinds" ie police, standing army and courts. "According to Marx", Lenin says, "the state is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another" (*State and Revolution*). And as Lenin also insisted, the attitude to the state is the dividing line between reformists and revolutionaries.

Pseudo-socialists tail Labour and the capitalist state

In tune with imperialist "death of communism" triumphalism, Labour and "socialist" parties in capitalist governments

more advice: "Also, rotation of positions and periods of temporary service, rather than the structured lifelong career ladder which exists now, could help prevent abuse of power and the police being separated off from the community they are meant to serve" (*Socialist*, 5 March). But the "community" that the police force serves is who it is "meant to serve" — the ruling class!

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have devoted pages of their paper to printing speeches from black cops, to "prove" there is racism in the police! Last June they published a speech by Detective Inspector David Michael; in February their editorial on the outcome of the Lawrence inquiry also approvingly cites two black cops. Whether a cop is white, black or Asian, their role is to enforce capitalist law and order which means escorting scabs through picket lines, protecting fascist scum while bludgeoning anti-fascist protesters and deporting asylum seekers.

For months the SWP have campaigned to pressurise Jack Straw to "sack Paul Condon"; they also call for "purging the openly racist elements from the ranks". They posit that "an end to police racism could only happen if... [the police] were

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Ian Donovan is a dangerous lunatic!

Condemn violent assault by pro-imperialist "socialist" at Bloody Sunday demonstration

In a 2 February Spartacist League (SL) statement, distributed widely among the left and workers movement, we condemned the physical attack by Ian Donovan against our comrade Eibhlin McDonald at the 30 January Bloody Sunday demonstration in London. Donovan publishes *Revolution & Truth*, and is the chair of the London Socialist Alliance. The argument preceding the attack was over the politics of the Socialist Party (SP), an organisation which Donovan defends and which we have scandalised for their outright pro-imperialist line on Northern Ireland. Our statement described how:

"Unable to politically defend the Socialist Party's support to the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland, Donovan responded by driving his fist into McDonald's face, in the midst of a 500-strong protest against British oppression in Northern Ireland. When McDonald shouted that she had been hit, demonstration stewards came quickly, found the cowardly bully Donovan and cautioned him. Dripping blood from the gash over her right eye, McDonald was taken to a nearby hospital where she was x-rayed and given stitches."

At the time of the attack we made it clear that we refuse to involve the capitalist state in the affairs of the workers movement. As an act of principle and as a service to the left, we remain determined to widely expose and condemn Donovan's thug attack. Donovan is mentally unhinged and dangerous. *Acts of violence against political opponents on the left have no place in the workers movement!*

The attack on McDonald was witnessed by several demonstrators at the Bloody Sunday march who expressed their outrage. Among individuals and leftist organisations condemning the attack, Hugh Stephens of the Campaign Against Sanctions and War on Iraq wrote that despite their political differences with the Spartacist League, "We wish to express our solidarity with your defence of your democratic rights, and our disgust that violence should have marred the otherwise very successful demonstration. We have never

used violence against other comrades as you know, and we have always found your comrades to be principled in discussions even with us who have very different views, a fact which we appreciate and which we endeavour to reciprocate."

"Socialists" for the RUC

Northern Ireland is a litmus test for revolutionaries in Britain. Karl Marx insisted that the working class in Britain must oppose imperialism in Ireland, and must understand that the ruling class uses chauvinism over Ireland to maintain its rule in Ireland and in England. We fight for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops and we have opposed the imperialist "peace" fraud from the outset.

In the argument preceding the assault, McDonald cited the Socialist Party's grotesque line on the RUC, whom they described in the wake of the Omagh bombing as "a bunch of scared young men, thrown into a horror they couldn't cope with" (*Socialist Voice* Special bulletin, August 1998). She suggested that Donovan should form a contingent with the Socialist Party and write on their banner "'Socialists' for the RUC!" As our statement pointed out, "Politically [Donovan] is a Labourite toady and apologist for British imperialism, in the tradition of Arthur Henderson who led the cheering in parliament when James Connolly was shot by a British firing squad. The Labourite Socialist Party which Donovan defends upholds this chauvinist tradition — they are notorious for refusing to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and for sponsoring fascist Loyalist Billy Hutchinson in their meetings." Donovan's assault was designed to silence political exposure of these wretched politics. He enthuses over the SP saying, "A key task of a revolutionary tendency in Britain at the moment is to establish comradely political relations with Socialist Party militants" (*Revolution & Truth* Issue 1, Summer 1998).

Within the thoroughly Labourite Lon-

don Socialist Alliance (LSA), Donovan cohabits with the anti-communist "Communist Party of Great Britain" (CPGB), which he describes as "one of the most subjectively revolutionary currents on the left today" (*Revolution & Truth* Issue 2, Autumn-Winter 1998-9). He is a recent ex-member of the social-chauvinist "International Bolshevik Tendency" (IBT), who

"was subject to a violent assault by Ian Donovan" (*Weekly Worker*, 18 February), and even Donovan himself acknowledges this, writing to us the next day, "I join you in condemning my own misguided action." Later in one of his demented Internet rantings, Donovan circulated a justification for violence against the SL, saying "there are some actions that the



Labourite toady and anti-communist thug Donovan (second from right) united with the CPGB in hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League.

are in turn desperate for a lash-up with the CPGB. When we nailed the IBT for their tailing of the SP, they responded that the SP's refusal to call for troops out of Northern Ireland "is indeed a scandalous position for a British left-wing organisation and is indicative of the fundamental problems in their left-reformist programme. But we do not regard this as a sufficient reason to avoid any common work with them on issues where there is agreement nor to consider giving them critical support in elections when appropriate" (*Marxist Bulletin* no 8, January 1999). For its part, the CPGB lashed up with the SP in the Socialist Alliances from their very inception. Donovan, the CPGB and the IBT share the opportunist craving for "unity" with any pro-imperialist outfit in the Labourite swamp, especially the Socialist Party.

CPGB: call for anti-communist "enquiry"

An article penned by CPGB national organiser Mark Fischer feigns condemnation of Donovan's attack but only as a prelude to announcing a "Call for enquiry" (*Weekly Worker*, 18 February). Just days after Fischer's piece, we were served with a letter from one Tina Becker informing us that a "commission of enquiry is established under the auspices of the London Socialist Alliance to enquiry [sic] into the circumstances surrounding the violent clash". Observe that Donovan's violent attack on our comrade has now been transformed into a "violent clash". What is there to investigate? Eyewitnesses have attested to Donovan's attack; by the CPGB's own admission, our comrade

Spartacists carry out that could deserve a physical response, in an 'organised' fashion by the legitimate forces of the left" (Internet, 19 February).

This "enquiry" is grotesque: the anti-communist CPGB seizes on an open-and-shut case of violent thuggery as a pretext for attempting a witch-hunting smear of the Spartacist League. A second, 2 March, missive from the "commission" summons internal Spartacist League documents and records for "background"! The articles authored by Fischer in the *Weekly Worker* retail Donovan's lies and serve up the standard bourgeois lawyer's "defence" of his client, citing "extenuating circumstances" and urging that "due weight is given to the *modus operandi* of the SL/B" (*Weekly Worker*, 25 February).

What Donovan and the CPGB have in common is a shared virulent hostility to the Leninist programme and practices of the Spartacist League, including our polemical exposures of their respective political betrayals. If the organisations with which Donovan is associated don't feel constrained to break with this demented violent thug, that is their problem, not ours.

The CPGB/IBT/Donovan anti-Spartacist nexus is also founded on obscene and wilful indifference to racist terror. Last year the CPGB howled against the Spartacist League because we insisted that the capitalist state is necessarily racist, including when Labour is in office. These "Home Office socialists", on the contrary, hold that "Racism, like anti-semitism and anti-catholicism, no longer serves the interests of the state" (*Weekly Worker*, 8 October 1998). When they were politi-

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Special ICL bulletins

On the Logan Regime

(Three parts)

In 1979, Bill Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency". Logan is now the leader of the "International Bolshevik Tendency". As a service to the workers movement we have made our international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

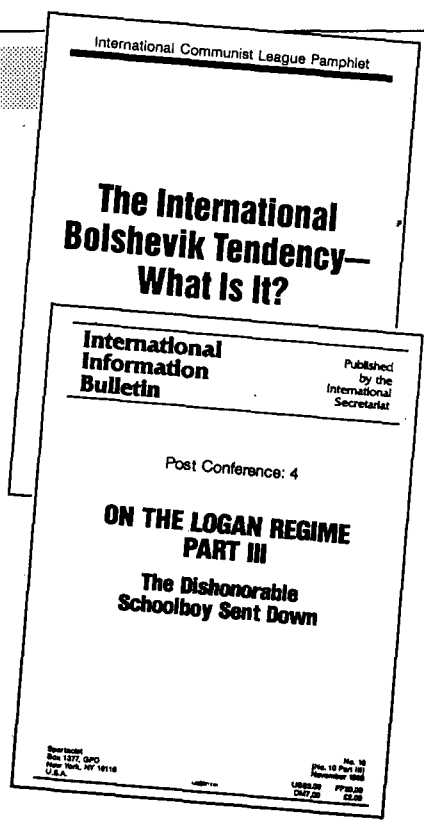
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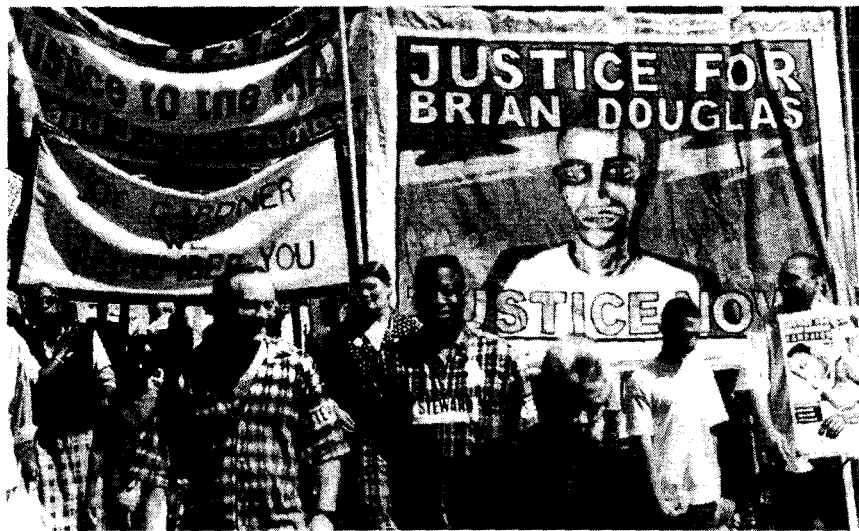


CPGB: anti-communist pimps for the racist British state

What kind of organisation would respond to the Lawrence inquiry's exposé of rampant police racism with a strident campaign that the police and the British state are anti-racist? None other than the so-called "Communist Party of Great Britain" (CPGB), who have bought into liberal bourgeois hypocrisy about the "anti-racism" of the status quo and the Labour government's illusions about a "new era" in race relations. The CPGB openly defend the racist state, arguing that: "Racism, like anti-semitism and anti-catholicism, no longer serves the interests of the state"; they even warn that "the greater danger comes from institutionalised anti-racism" ("Saying the Unsayable", *Weekly Worker*, 22 October 1998).

During the Lawrence inquiry the CPGB ridiculed us for telling the elemental truth that the capitalist state is necessarily racist. *Weekly Worker* (22 October 1998) wrote: "The back page [*Workers Hammer*] headline screams at us: 'Lawrence family will not get justice from capitalist state! Labour enforces capitalism's racist rule'". They say this is: "Beautifully codifying and crystallising many of the current left fallacies and misconceptions surrounding the question of so-called 'institutionalised racism'".

They wax eloquent against the reformist drivels of groups like the Socialist Party (SP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who advocate that the capitalist state should reform the police. *Weekly Worker* writes: "The police can never be reformed into a body capable of acting in the interests of our class.... They exist, in the last analysis, to defend the capitalist



London protest against racist state murders of Brian Douglas and Joy Gardner, 1995. CPGB declared British state to be "anti-racist".

state" (8 October 1998). And, "Both the SWP and the SP are prepared to live with the police force — they just want it to be anti-racist when it oppresses us" (*Weekly Worker*, 4 March). All well and good, but it is horseshit from an outfit who are to the right of the Macpherson report and give anti-racist credentials to the racist capitalist class.

The CPGB shares a fundamental premise with the Labourite left whom they polemicise against, which is that racism can be addressed within the framework of the capitalist state. The SWP and SP argue that by pressuring the Labour government to reform the cops, the state can become less racist, while the CPGB maintains that

the state is already anti-racist. All of them *rule out* mobilising the proletariat behind a revolutionary programme and party to smash racist and fascist terror, which is a necessary part of the programme for socialist revolution. But this requires mobilising the working masses *against* the existing Labourite misleadership, a perspective these organisations necessarily reject because they capitulate to Labourism and the bourgeois state.

In 1995, in the face of intensified racist terror across Europe fuelled by capitalist attacks on the working class in the wake of counterrevolution, the CPGB's draft programme pronounced that: "The capitalist state in Britain has an official ideology

of anti-racism" (Jack Conrad, *Weekly Worker*, 5 September 1995). They pontificate that, under Labour, the British ruling class are *integrating* blacks and Asians into British society:

"Blair's attempt to win a new consensus in order to rejuvenate British capital has given fresh impetus to bourgeois anti-racism. Whereas the social democratic consensus was built on the foundations of the post World War II boom and the neo-colonial influx of 'inferior' peoples, Blair's New Britain requires the full integration of their descendants into the British mainstream." — *Weekly Worker*, 25 June 1998

These charlatans believe that British capitalism, which wrote the book on racist divide-and-rule through centuries of bloody colonial terror, dispensed with racism within its own borders in a period of sharply rising racist terror. We'd like to see them explain that to an audience of the black and Asian descendants of immigrant workers who daily face the brutality of the capitalists' cops and their fascist auxiliaries.

Defending "rights" for fascists, anti-communist diatribes

The CPGB's accommodation to their own bourgeoisie did not spring up overnight. It is rooted in the Stalinist heritage the CPGB upholds which is that of the original "Communist Party of Great Britain", which became nothing other than a second mobilisation of the social-imperialist Labour Party. Back in 1988 when the threat of counterrevolution was looming in the former Soviet Union, the CPGB (then called the Leninist) defended democratic "rights" for Pamyat fascists. Pamyat openly raved about the "insidiousness of the Jews", and sought to revive the pogroms by the Black Hundreds under tsarism. The *Leninist* stated that "[what] the emergence of sinister groups like *Pamyat* demands is not a clamping down, a return to a supposed monolithic golden age. We are in favour of the fullest democracy under socialism" (23 May 1998). We

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Racism...

(Continued from page 5)

made accountable for their actions, at all levels, to ordinary people" (*Socialist Worker*, 27 February). In *Socialist Review* (March 1999) they make a more left-sounding argument, saying: "the police cannot be reformed in any fundamental way, unless there is a wholesale assault on class society". This is false — the police cannot be reformed full stop, racism cannot be "purged" from the cops, nor can they be made accountable to anyone other than the capitalist class.

Workers Power try to strike a more "revolutionary" pose, stating: "We must smash the institutions of a state that is racist to the core along with the capitalist system that relies on racism as one of its weapons against the working class." However, behind this rhetoric lies the same reformist calls to clean up the cops: "The sacking of Paul Condon, racist cops and the murderers in their ranks weakens the police; that is why we demand these as immediate measures" (*Workers Power*, March 1999). A few months back they spelled it out: "New Labour should prosecute and sack all racist officers" (*Workers Power*, October 1998). This amounts to "advice" to the Labour government on how to make the armed fist of the capitalist state more efficient, effective and responsible!

The Revolutionary Internationalist League (RIL), a nominally Trotskyist organisation, has abandoned any pretensions of fighting for socialism, and hides behind its front group the "Movement for Justice". Their propaganda makes no

reference to the need for socialism, barely even mentions the working class, but confines itself to demands for "justice" and "civil rights" without ever referring to the class character of the state.

The RIL and the Movement for Justice have a track record of craven loyalty to Labour. The RIL's newspaper *Revolutionary Fighter* put out a special election bulletin (April 1997) headlined "Vote Labour on 1 May — but build real action for change". Their "real action" means pressuring the racist Labour government and capitalist state. They displayed massive illusions in the Lawrence inquiry, to the extent that they made their very own submission pleading for the sacking of Paul Condon, abolition of Stop and Search, the withdrawal of the new asylum laws, and so on *ad nauseam*.

The question of how to fight racism

was addressed at a January public meeting held in Tottenham, London for "Justice for Michael Menson". Speakers included Sukhdev Reel, whose son was also murdered by racists, as well as Mike Mansfield, lawyer for the Lawrence campaign and Suresh Grover of Southall Monitoring Group. Addressing the question of racist terror, Mike Mansfield and Suresh Grover acknowledged that every previous campaign against racist attacks has failed. Mansfield promoted a "civil rights movement" to be launched soon, with the main purpose of "monitoring" the police. Their "solution" to racist murder is to pressurise the police to find the killers. But those who accept the framework of capitalism can do nothing to resist or reverse the spiralling fascist attacks and racist cop terror.

In counterposition, a Spartacist League speaker told the truth: "The reason the Lawrence family, the families of Michael Menson, Ricky Reel and Roger Sylvester

have to battle this wall of racism is that the police are part of the capitalist state, which is inherently and fundamentally racist to the core. It exists to defend private profit and exploitation, and this does not change one iota when Labour is elected. The Labour government is a capitalist government."

Our comrade pointed out that the 1945 Labour government began deportations of blacks and Asians to the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent; the 1974 Labour government introduced racist *virginity tests* for Asian women at Heathrow Airport and the present government guaranteed that Stephen Lawrence's racist killers would remain free and that the cops who protected them would get away with it. She concluded: "We need workers revolution to bring down British imperialism, to overthrow this capitalist system. This will put an end to exploitation, racist oppression and will bring justice and equality for all." ■

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Balkans...

(Continued from page 1)

rebels in land-locked Kosovo would also be "punished" by the blockading of Albanian ports in order to cut off their arms supplies.

The imperialists are also planning to send a US/NATO force of some 30,000 ground troops to Kosovo to enforce any "peace" agreement. The Clinton administration is promising to contribute some 5000 ground troops. The German Fourth Reich under Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder also wants to be part of any NATO occupation force in Kosovo. German imperialism has hitherto been restrained by the memory, seared into the consciousness of the Balkan peoples, of the orgy of mass murder carried out under the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II. Whether or not the US-dominated NATO alliance carries out its threats, the Spartacist League forthrightly declares: All imperialist forces out of the Balkans!

The same day the imperialists delivered their diktat to Milosevic, waves of American warplanes attacked Iraqi installations near the northern city of Mosul in the largest air offensive against that country since the US and Britain launched a four-day missile assault in December. Such attacks have become an almost daily occurrence in recent weeks, including the bombardment of a residential quarter of Basra last week that left at least eleven civilians dead. Tens of thousands were slaughtered in 1991 by US-led forces acting under a United Nations fig leaf. Today, the blood of the Iraqi people is still being spilled to cement US control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to America's imperialist

Serbs — underline that imperialism is not merely a "policy" carried out by a particular wing of the bourgeoisie. Imperialism is, in the words of Bolshevik leader VI Lenin, the "highest stage of capitalism", a rapacious system based on the exploitation and oppression of the workers and semicolonial masses.

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the rulers of US imperialism feel they have a free hand to carry out invasions or launch terror-bombing campaigns against semicolonial countries from Haiti to Somalia to Iraq. These repeated acts of terror by US imperialism are aimed at enforcing the subjugation of the semicolonial peoples of the world and demonstrating to its capitalist rivals that the American bourgeoisie remains top dog. From the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the long, losing war against the heroic Vietnamese people, US imperialism is the main force of oppression in the world. This system cannot be "reformed" or pressured into becoming more "humane" but must be overthrown through socialist revolution. The Spartacist League fights to forge an internationalist proletarian vanguard party modelled on Lenin's Bolshevik party, which led the workers to power in the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Imperialist hypocrisy and military terror

As usual, the imperialists couch their threats of military terror against the Serbs in the name of "humanitarian" concerns — in this instance, the murderous oppression of Kosovo's Albanian majority by Milosevic's security forces, which are trying to crush a secessionist insurgency by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK).



Iraqi victims of US missile attack near Basra in January.

nation — that is, the right to secede from the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. However, should the imperialists stage a military intervention over Kosovo, the issue of self-determination would be subordinated to our military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces" (*Workers Vanguard* no 693, 3 July 1998). This is precisely what has come to pass. Today, to call for self-determination for the Kosovar Albanians can only be a cover for support to imperialist intervention.

We also defend the right of the Serbian minority to live in Kosovo on the basis of full equality. In contrast, liberals and the reformist left, who divide the world into "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples, dismiss with a wave of the hand the rights of the Serbs. In fact, the Serbian minority in Croatia has already been almost entirely driven out through "ethnic cleansing" there. The Serbs in Kosovo, like the Jews of pre-World War II Poland, make up some 10 per cent of the population. With the Albanian Kosovars about to become the pawns of the imperialist occupation force, the stage is set for reversing the terms of oppression.

The Kosovo "peace" process being brokered by Washington is modelled on the NATO-imposed Dayton accords, signed following imperialist air strikes against Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995 and policed by an imperialist occupation force in Bosnia. As we warned at the time: "The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples" (*Workers Vanguard* no 634, 1 December 1995). Today, with hardline Serbian nationalists viscerally opposed to autonomy for the Albanian Kosovars and the UCK equally opposed to any solution short of independence, imperialist intervention can only lay the basis for further bloodshed.

The machinations in the Balkans are a harbinger of escalating inter-imperialist rivalries, whose logic ultimately points towards a nuclear third world war. Despite the conjunctural show of unity among the Western powers, all are pursuing their own interests in the region. Britain and France were the main big-power allies of Serbia against Germany in both world wars and are trying to restore influence in the region. Bonn's drive to restore its pre-World War I sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is aimed at the region's wealth of minerals which have strategic importance to German industry. As a recent study pointed out, Kosovo "contains the greatest concentration of mineral wealth in the whole of south-eastern Europe". During Hitler's occupation of Yugoslavia, Kosovo's mines produced massive amounts of lead, zinc, nickel and other strategic minerals for the Third

Reich's war industries (Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* [1998]).

While the US has no such strategic stake in the Balkans, it seeks to wield the military power of NATO, which it dominates, as a means of furthering Washington's global interests. With inter-imperialist rivalry increasingly coming to the fore following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the US fears that the European powers may conduct independent military operations, bypassing NATO. Today, there are more than 25,000 US-commanded troops under UN auspices stationed in Croatia and Bosnia. Two thousand more soldiers occupy Macedonia, including 350 Americans who help police the border with Kosovo.

Washington also worries that the conflict in Kosovo could spread to Macedonia, where ethnic Albanians constitute over 25 per cent of the population. The break-up of Macedonia could well trigger a war involving Albania as well as Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims on Macedonia. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which were mainly fought to determine which Balkan states would get Macedonia and Kosovo as the Ottoman Empire fell apart, were the prelude to the First World War.

Left face of imperialist warmongering

It is striking that the most virulent anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries often comes not from the right wing of the political spectrum but from liberals, social democrats and even the "far left". In the US, rad-lib notables like Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens were prominent in calling for bombing Serbian forces in Bosnia, while the liberal *Nation* (30 March 1998) has called for a "U.S. military reaction" against the Serbs in Kosovo. In Europe, fake-Trotskyist groups like Cliff Slaughter's Movement for Socialism in Britain and the West European-centred United Secretariat (USec), tailing the mass social-democratic parties, call for Western governments to act against Serbian "aggression".

The left's support for bloody imperialist terror cloaked in "humanitarian" garb goes back to the 1991 Persian Gulf War against Iraq. At that time, the Spartacist League, US section of the International Communist League, called for defeat of the US-led onslaught and defence of Iraq while appealing to the Iraqi proletariat to lead the Kurds and other oppressed peoples in the overthrow of the despot Saddam Hussein. But many liberals and leftists, echoing the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Kuwait", donned yellow ribbons in solidarity with the imperialist troops and backed the starvation blockade of Iraq as a "peaceful alternative" to bombing.



Spartacist League-initiated demonstration in London, September 1995 protesting British/US/UN/NATO terror-bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

rivals, Germany and Japan. Over a million children and hundreds of thousands of other Iraqis have died from malnutrition and disease resulting from the imperialist embargo. Down with US/British imperialist terror bombing! Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia and Iraq! US get your bloody hands off the world!

For years, Washington denied Iraqi accusations that UN "weapons inspectors" were part of an American spy operation. But last month it was revealed that the search for supposed "weapons of mass destruction" provided US intelligence with information used to plan the "Desert Fox" December bombing. The *Washington Post* (17 January) specified: "The heart of the Desert Fox list (49 of the 100 targets) is the Iraqi regime itself: a half-dozen palace strongholds and their supporting cast of secret police, guard and transport organizations." As with Clinton's terror bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan last August, the continued death and devastation being inflicted on Iraq — and the threats of renewed bombing against the

But this is the most abject cynicism. No less than their West European counterparts, the US rulers are categorically opposed to self-determination for Kosovo's Albanian population because they fear that further break-up of the Balkan states along national lines could ignite a conflagration throughout the whole region. This is fully understood in Belgrade. As Serbian government officials indicated to the *New York Times* (31 January), "Kosovo is a political and financial drain for Belgrade, and if NATO is willing to take responsibility for restraining the rebels and keeping Kosovo from independence for three years, Mr. Milosevic may see that as an advantage." If so, it is a highly dangerous gambit. The US is fully prepared to unleash untold destruction on any semicolonial country whose leaders are not 100 per cent under their thumb, as the Iraqi people can attest.

When the US threatened air strikes against Serbia last summer, we wrote: "We defend the right of the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo to self-determi-

Donovan...

(Continued from page 6)

cally attacked by a fellow Socialist Alliance member for their disgusting call for the "right" to freedom of "expression" for the French fascist Le Pen, it was Donovan who came to their defence, claiming the CPGB's article was "simply a commentary on the pitfalls of calling for the *bourgeois state* to censor political views, even those of the far right" (*Weekly Worker*, 19 November 1998). No, their article had an echo of Le Pen's programme, *which is a programme for genocide* — this is not a matter of "free speech"! (See article on CPGB this issue.)

Our 2 February statement described how:

"Just before he lunged at her with his fist, Donovan ranted that comrade McDonald acted as a 'cop' towards him and other IBT supporters, supposedly 'fingering them' to the leadership of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). In fact, we exposed the IBT for being to the *right* of Arthur Scargill's left Labourite reformism."

One of the IBT's first actions upon entering the SLP was to form electoral slates with virulently anti-communist elements, including those who had cheered on counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, as well as outright apologists for Ukrainian fascists in World War II and supporters of "Workers Aid for Bosnia", which ran point for imperialist intervention into the Balkans. We unmasked the record of the IBT's US organisation which scabbed on a strike of New York City building maintenance workers in 1996 (see *Workers Hammer* no 166, January/February 1999).

We also exposed the CPGB as being to the right of Arthur Scargill's SLP, revealing that during the 1984-85 miners strike — the most important class battle in decades — they were on the wrong side of the class line, joining the Thatcher/Kinnock clamour in denouncing the NUM for not having called a ballot after the strike had begun. They have been screaming ever since that this position for a ballot is a fabrication. In truth, as they admit, our exposure hurt them "in the midst of our work around the Socialist Labour Party, a body then with a fair sprinkling of miners and activists from 84-85 and led by Scargill himself" (*Weekly Worker*, 18 February). Once

again, here is their line on the ballot:

"Clearly the lack of a ballot to call the overtime ban, the lack of a ballot over strike action (even when the vote required for national action was reduced from 55% to a simple majority, even when opinion poll after opinion poll showed that well over 60% of miners favoured the strike), the area by area approach showed that the leadership of the NUM trusted bureaucratic manoeuvre more than their arguments for solidarity, and this had its costs. "Of course to have caved in to demands for a ballot from the NCB, the Right Hon. Peter Walker, and right wing elements in the NUM could have proved fatal. But undoubtedly a majority could have been gained on the basis of a concerted, imaginative, Fiery Cross campaign which stressed what miners need not what the NCB or the 'country' (i.e. the capitalist system) can afford".

— *Leninist*, Special Supplement, January 1985

Calling for a ballot once the strike had already commenced and been spread through mass pickets was a call for strike-breaking.

Following Donovan's assault, the IBT issued a statement which announced that they "condemned Donovan's attack", and then pursued an almost identical angle to that of the CPGB, to wit: "McDonald's denunciation of Donovan as an RUC supporter, particularly at a 'Bloody Sunday' march, was provocative and unprincipled. Yet the SL's abuses of workers' democracy cannot be used to excuse Donovan's violent assault" (Internet posting, 17 February).

This confirms the point in our statement that the IBT's obsessional hatred of the Spartacist League along with their grotesque social chauvinism makes them "a culture medium for violent misogynist, anti-communist nutters like Donovan". The IBT is led by a sexual sociopath and massive liar, Bill Logan, who was expelled from our organisation in 1979 for gross crimes against communist morality and its substrate, elemental human decency. We noted the description of Logan's organisation by Phil Ferguson: "His behaviour is the textbook case of the little ratbag in a private boys school who gets to be head boy or head of some little gang" and adding that "every bone in his body is alien to the working class" (Internet posting, 21 December). Our statement incorrectly described Ferguson as a "survivor" of Logan's organisation. In fact

Ferguson, who is certainly no friend of ours, says his description of Logan is based on accounts of a former member of Logan's outfit.

What the IBT and their friends deem "provocative" is our opposition to Labourite *conciliationism*, our polemics sharply exposing class betrayal and centrist waffling; this is beyond the bounds of the implicit rules of chummy British Labourism. This chumminess and conciliationism, with which the British fake left is rife, ultimately stems from the particular history of the British workers movement and view of the Labour Party as the "party of the whole class". So whatever the claimed differences, at bottom everyone is everyone else's "comrade". The "party of the whole class" means incorporating and accepting every kind of social backwardness, which is what characterises the politics of these outfits, whether the IBT, CPGB, or for that matter the SLP, in which they both operated.

Another organisation that had big problems "condemning" Donovan's hooliganism was Workers Power (WP). Just after the attack, their representative on the spot said our comrade brought it on herself. This line was repeated three days later by two WP members at a "Reclaim our Rights" public meeting in London. But on 12 February — thirteen days after the attack, in the face of the widespread outrage against Donovan — the "Workers Power Political Committee" wrote us a letter announcing that they do in fact condemn Donovan's attack and complaining that we had not contacted their organisation "officially". The letter objects to our denunciation of WP's record of "violence and exclusion of the Spartacist League". They admit they violently attacked one of our members in 1982, and then go on to confirm their policy of excluding us. Exclusion, according to Workers Power, "can hardly be equated with physical violence".

But exclusionism — including in WP's case — is soft-core violence, an organisational attempt to suppress political exposure of the gulf between their Trotskyist pretensions and their Labourite practice. Before they began excluding us, Workers Power had announced repudiation of their longstanding Cliffite "Third Camp" position that the USSR was state capitalist

and declared they now embraced Trotsky's understanding that the Soviet Union under the Stalinist bureaucracy was a degenerated workers state. But this position was completely contradicted by their continuing and constant practice, in which they joined the imperialists and their Labour lieutenants in support of every counterrevolutionary movement aimed at *destruction* of the Soviet workers state, from Polish Solidarność to Boris Yeltsin's counter-coup in August 1991. In 1998 WP brought their "theory" into line with their practice arguing that a bourgeois workers state was restored in the USSR in 1927. (See "Workers Power's new 'theory' on the Russian question — 'Death of communism' centrists", *Workers Hammer* no 161, March/April 1998).

We have a record of opposing violence in the workers movement going back to our origins in the US in the 1960s, including against the gangsterism perpetrated by the Gerry Healy organisation (Socialist Labour League and later Workers Revolutionary Party) in Britain and internationally, from the late 1950s to their implosion in 1985. The Healyites' recourse to violence signalled contradiction between professed revolutionary programme and real appetite. While claiming the mantle of "Trotskyism", there was always the soft Labourite underbelly. Therefore, since Healy could not defend his line, which was ultimately not that different from the other fake Trotskyists, what he did instead was draw a hard organisational line with violence, designed to terrorise, sealing off his membership from his leftist opponents.

We will not be silenced by thuggery. As our statement concluded:

"Political debate is necessary to clarify what programme and leadership the working class needs to fight for its interests: we oppose the imperialist 'peace' deal in Northern Ireland which is premised on the continued rule of bloody British imperialism, and the continued presence of British troops maintaining the oppression of the Catholic minority. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British troops! Not Orange against Green, but class against class! For an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles!

"We repeat: acts of violence such as Ian Donovan's against political opponents on the left have no place in the workers movement!" ■

By the time it came to "poor little Bosnia" a couple of years later, many of these types were among the most bellicose advocates of imperialist intervention. The most active agency on the left promoting imperialist military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs was the "Workers Aid" campaign, dominated by the Slaughterites and the USec. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the "multiethnic" working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid was in reality a pressure group on the imperialists to attack the Serbian forces besieging the cities controlled by the Muslim regime.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group in Britain, one of the boosters of the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, scandalously refused to defend the Serbs in the face of imperialist attack. In a 5 September 1995 statement, WP declared that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary", repudiating the Leninist position of military defence of small nations and semicolonial peoples against imperialist aggression. Marxists understand that imperialism is not a question of one or another "strategic goal" but a *system* of domination over the vast masses of the world's people by a handful of powerful capitalist classes.



Ethnic Albanians rally in the Macedonian capital Skopje in support of imperialist intervention. Conflict in Kosovo could spread to Macedonia triggering Balkans-wide conflagration.

That WP, the USec et al genuflect before the imperialists' "democratic" pretensions harks back to their support to the Cold War campaign against the Soviet Union. As Trotskyists, the ICL stood for unconditional military defence of the

USSR, a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe against capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Groups like WP and the USec, on the other hand,

bought into the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the name of abstract "democracy", supporting Polish Solidarność, the fake "union" backed by the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers, and hailing the forces on Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution. From Yugoslavia to the former Soviet Union, capitalist counterrevolution has meant mass privation, continual nationalist bloodletting and social disintegration. However limited their influence, those "leftists" who championed the forces of capitalist restoration bear their share of responsibility for these horrors.

The endless cycle of ethnic slaughter in the Balkans underscores the fact that a democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims in that region can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and exacerbating national claims. This was demonstrated by the 1917 Russian Revolution which laid the basis for the numerous nationalities which had been under the boot of the tsarist empire to achieve self-determination. The Bolshevik Revolution opened the road to genuine national equality by expropriating the capitalists and landlords and fighting to extend proletarian power internationally. ■

CPGB...

(Continued from page 7)

scandalised them for this at the time, noting that: "Where fascism seeks to raise its ugly head, it's ABC that communists seek to mobilise the working masses to destroy it. What in the world does extending the right to organise to fascist scum like Pamyat have to do with Soviet democracy? Indeed the October Revolution achieved workers rule through smashing the state machine of the capitalists, landlords and the tsarist Black Hundreds, the forerunners of Pamyat." We also wrote: "Leninist's defence of the 'right' of fascists to organise in the Soviet Union is a watershed position for the organisation — one that should repel serious revolutionists" ("Leninist defends 'rights' of Russian Pamyat fascists", *WH* no 99, July/August 1988).

To stop the threat of counterrevolution in the USSR, we Trotskyists sought to mobilise the proletariat as a conscious revolutionary factor. We fought for unconditional defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and capitalist restoration and for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy. The Leninist equated the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy with the workers states, so when the August 1991 coup against Yeltsin failed, they immediately wrote off the Soviet Union, saying: "genuine communists should briefly mourn before getting on with the job of organising on the basis of the lessons our defeat in the USSR teaches" (*Leninist*, 1 September 1991). The ascendancy of Yeltsin in the August 1991 counter-coup was a pivotal event, but counterrevolution was not a foregone conclusion. We actively fought against capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in 1991, as we had done in East Germany in 1989-90, where the *Leninist* wrote off the incipient proletarian political revolution as counterrevolution from the start. They dismissed the proletariat as a potential factor to defeat counterrevolution, looking instead to the Stalinist gravediggers of revolution, who committed their

ultimate betrayal by delivering the Soviet Union to Yeltsin's counterrevolution in 1991-92.

Since the triumph of counterrevolution, the bourgeoisie has maintained the lie that "communism is dead", and the CPGB have fulsomely joined in this chorus. Last year they gave a ringing endorsement to counterrevolution by denouncing the USSR and all deformed workers states: "Stalin's USSR, Mao's China, Hoxha's Albania and Castro's Cuba" they declared, became "giant prison camps where workers are subject to a modern state slavery" (*Weekly Worker*, 25 June 1998). This is implicit backing for counterrevolution in the remaining deformed workers states in China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam, as well as a rationale for accommodation to "democratic" capitalism.

The CPGB's strident anti-communism and support of bourgeois "democracy" has led them to defend democratic "rights" for French fascist leader Le Pen. Le Pen was stripped of European parliamentary immunity for a remark he made that extermination of the Jews under Hitler was a "detail" of World War II. The CPGB argues against calling on parliament and the courts to ban Le Pen. It is deadly dangerous to rely on the capitalist state to fight fascism, but it is the duty of the proletariat to crush the fascists in the egg, as a matter of self-preservation. Scandalously, the CPGB's position is for "discussion" with fascists, which is flatly counterposed to mobilising to crush them. They reduce the fascist programme to a mere "argument", which is standard liberal hogwash, saying: "To turn to the original question of Le Pen, the first thing to note is that it is seldom possible to destroy an argument by suppressing it. Only when it is brought into the light of day through mass discussion can the argument be shown to be fallacious" (*Weekly Worker*, 29 October 1998).

The question of fascism has nothing whatsoever to do with "free speech" and democratic "rights". Fascists are not a debating society, they are extra-parliamentary gangs of race terrorists whose programme is *genocide*. Trotskyists fight to smash the fascists through mass working class/minority mobilisations, a crucial

part of the struggle for proletarian revolution internationally. Le Pen's National Front has grown through murderous terror against racial minorities in France, for whom their programme is mass expulsion and/or extermination, their ultimate aim is the destruction of the working class.

As for Le Pen's "opinion" that the Holocaust was a "detail" of WWII, the CPGB actually concurs: "In one sense the mass murder of six million Jews is a 'detail' of the carnage which cost the lives of 50 million people" (*Weekly Worker*, 29 October 1998). Le Pen's trivialisation of the Holocaust has one deadly purpose: to prepare the next one. To justify their outrageous stance the slimy CPGB cites as "evidence" the fact that the Holocaust is not what the imperialists fought World War II over: "Although the death camps were obviously of major significance, World War II was not fought over the Nazi's policy of exterminating the Jews. It was primarily fought over the relative position of Germany in a world imperialist struggle."

World War II was inter-imperialist carnage fought to redivide the booty of capitalist profits. Revolutionaries were for the defeat not only of fascist Germany but of all the blood-drenched imperialist "democracies", including Britain, through proletarian revolution. Trotskyists fought to defend the USSR, which was the ultimate target of the Nazi war machine and indeed of all the competing imperialist powers. Despite the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, the *Soviet Red Army crushed Nazi Germany*, a fact you will not read in the *Weekly Worker's* filthy lawyering for Le Pen. Trotskyists also fought against immigration restrictions imposed by the bourgeois "democracies" to exclude Jews fleeing from the Holocaust.

Grotesquely, the CPGB unfavourably compares the former USSR to Nazi Germany, saying: "Let us remind ourselves that the major employers of censorship and suppression of ideas in this century have been those claiming to act in the name of communism. This did us much more harm than all the censorship and book burnings of the Nazis" (*Weekly Worker*, 29 October 1998). Here the

CPGB are employing the standard Big Lie technique of all anti-communists, in the manner of the "Black Book of Communism" published two years ago in France and authored by former Stalinists and social democrats. This is a textbook of hysterical slanders against the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution; it not only smears the idea of communism, but tries to equate communism with fascism. These anti-communist authors trivialise the unique and unspeakable crimes of Hitler's Holocaust, when millions were murdered to eliminate whole peoples from the face of the earth. Hitlerite fascism was the most dihard, most ideological expression of the bourgeoisie's unremitting world struggle against communism. (See "Black Book: Anti-Communist Big Lie", *Workers Vanguard* no 692, 5 June 1998.)

The CPGB exhibits wilful indifference to racist terror from the state and the fascists in Britain. A few months after taking office, Labour instigated a racist furore against Roma from the Czech Republic and Slovakia who sought asylum in Britain. This emboldened the fascist National Front to stage race-hate marches in Dover where the Roma refugees were arriving. *Weekly Worker* published reams of articles asserting that the Labour government's anti-immigrant measures are not racist and neither is British national chauvinism: "There is an *element* of racism amongst the chauvinistic opposition to immigrants that many workers express. However, the national chauvinism that the state does its best to promote is not in itself racist at all." They add that: "the left's insistence on seeing racism in the motives of the ruling class is not only foolish, but downright dangerous" (*Weekly Worker*, 20 November 1997). While alibiing the vicious racism of the Labour government, they utter not a word about the danger from the fascists.

Denial of the racism at the heart of the capitalist state, lawyering for democratic "rights" for fascists whose programme is genocide, singing the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" tune: these are the defining characteristics of the CPGB. Beware "Communists" peddling the filthy lies of their own ruling class. ■



斯巴达克思 SPARTACIST

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

We are pleased to announce the publication in Chinese of this important document, which was adopted at the Third International Conference of the ICL in early 1998. It has already appeared in nine other languages. The ICL's Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

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Öcalan...

(Continued from page 12)

against Iraq, which inspired solidarity strikes in Kurdish eastern Anatolia as well as among Turkish workers. Significantly, the miners reportedly raised the demand for the right of Kurds to use their own language.

The road to liberation of the Turkish toilers from the military-run dictatorship of the Kemalist bourgeoisie lies through the Turkish proletariat embracing defence of the Kurds against their "own" exploiters. As part of the multinational proletariat of the region, the Kurds can play a leading role in socialist revolution in Turkey and throughout the Near East. The key lies in forging an internationalist leadership modelled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party, which liberated the oppressed nationalities of the tsarist autocracy's "prison house of peoples" by leading the proletariat to power in the 1917 Russian Revolution.

We reprint below the 18 February declaration by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (German section, International Communist League).

On 15 February the Kurdish PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was abducted in Kenya in a night-and-fog action conducted by the Turkish secret service — reportedly in cooperation with the American CIA and the Israeli Mossad. Öcalan was kidnapped en route to the airport from the Greek embassy, then flown to the Turkish prison island İmralı and deposited in the notori-



Spartakist photos

Hamburg, 20 February: Thousands of Kurdish Öcalan supporters join demonstration on behalf of US death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Spartakist sign in Berlin, outside Greek consulate occupied by Kurdish protesters, demands "Freedom for Öcalan!"

a storm of police terror against the Kurdish protesters who are themselves now threatened with mass deportations to Turkey's torture chambers. Yesterday, three Kurdish protesters were shot to death by Israeli security guards in front of the Israeli consulate in Berlin; another 16 were seriously injured. These murders were abetted by the racist capitalist SPD/Green government, which mounted a massive police offensive against the PKK supporters, and now obscenely scapegoats the victims for their own murders. The area around the SPD offices in Hamburg which was occupied by the PKK was turned into a war zone. More than a thousand Kurds

creasing their own profit margins at the cost of enormous suffering and death of workers and oppressed around the world. US bombers take off from the NATO base in İncirlik, Turkey to bomb Iraq back to the stone age. The German imperialists have once again stationed troops in former Yugoslavia where in World War II they murdered one fifth of the population. The German airforce, along with NATO allies, is now preparing to launch air strikes against Serbia. We Trotskyists say: *Bundeswehr/UN/NATO: Out of the Balkans! Down with the UN starvation embargo against Iraq! Defend Iraq against Imperialist Attack! Turkish Army: Out of the Kurdish Territories Now!*

Today most Kurds live in industrial centers from Istanbul to Berlin. It is the working class, including its strategic component of workers of Kurdish and Turkish background, who produce the entire wealth of society and have the power to smash the exploitative capitalist system. These workers can serve as a living bridge between the Kurdish struggle for independence and the fight for socialist revolution in the Near East, fighting to extend proletarian revolution to the imperialist heartland of West Europe. Unity across national and ethnic lines by the most class conscious Kurdish, Turkish and German workers would be a powerful force in the struggle to emancipate all workers from capitalist exploitation. This revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist perspective requires a sharp political struggle against the social democratic misleaders — the SPD and PDS — who organize state terror and split the workers through racist agitation and chauvinism. Only a Trotskyist

party which mobilizes the Kurdish, Turkish and German workers against the imperialist divide-and-conquer politics of the ruling class and their social-democratic lieutenants in the labor movement will be able to systematically mobilize for socialist revolution and defeat all manifestations of nationalism and class collaboration.

The 25 to 30 million Kurdish people in the Near East constitute the largest nation in the world without a state of its own. Since the downfall of the Turkish Ottoman empire in World War I, the Kurdish people have been carved up primarily among four countries — Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq, with a small scattering of Kurds in the Caucasian republics of the former Soviet Union. The realization of an independent Kurdistan requires the revolutionary overthrow of at least four different capitalist powers in the region. This is the Trotskyist perspective of *permanent revolution* — that in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch, only the proletariat in power can achieve the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution. This perspective is counterposed to the illusions peddled by petty-bourgeois nationalists who appeal to the immediate oppressors of the Kurdish people and their imperialist godfathers. The fight for Kurdish national and social emancipation requires revolutionary leadership — the construction of Trotskyist parties rooted in the proletariats of the Near East and among the workers of Europe — a reformed Fourth International to struggle as the world party of socialist revolution. Building such a party is the task to which we are dedicated. *For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!*



Reuters

1991 march by striking Turkish and Kurdish coal miners joined by women, carrying portrait of Atatürk, founder of Turkish republic. Defence of oppressed Kurds is critical to united class struggle against Turkish rulers.

ous torture chamber of the Turkish murder regime. Ominously, all other prisoners have been removed from the island; evidently the Turkish state wants no eyes and ears to witness what they intend to inflict on Öcalan. While blustering about a "fair trial," Turkey refused to even allow Öcalan's lawyers into the country. Over the last fifteen years, tens of thousands of Kurdish people were murdered in Turkey's gruesome war of annihilation which has destroyed more than 3000 villages. As the leader of the guerrilla struggle for Kurdish independence, Öcalan could now face the death penalty in Turkey. We Trotskyists of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) demand: *Freedom for Öcalan!*

Across Europe, in Australia and in Canada, thousands of Kurds took to the streets and occupied embassies to protest the arrest of Öcalan. In acts of extreme desperation, young PKK supporters set fire to themselves. From Blair's Britain, to Jospin's France and D'Alema's Italy, to Schröder's Germany, the social democratic rulers of Fortress Europe, all of whom refused asylum to Öcalan unleashed

were arrested by the German cops, hundreds more have been beaten, arrested, and "disappeared." Even the names of the murdered Kurds are being kept secret. We demand: *Drop the charges! Free the Kurdish Prisoners! No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down with the Ban on the PKK and the Kurdish Associations!*

Öcalan tried for months to get asylum in West Europe and appealed to social democratic led governments to mediate on behalf of the Kurds in Turkey. The struggle for Kurdish national independence has been repeatedly sacrificed by bourgeois nationalists in futile pursuit of support from imperialist powers and regional capitalist regimes, be it Hussein's Iraq or Assad's Syria. German imperialism, along with US imperialism, is the godfather of the Turkish campaign of extermination of the Kurds, arming and training the death squadrons. Since the destruction of the degenerated Soviet workers state through capitalist counterrevolution, there has been an increase in imperialist rivalries to plunder the region's oil reserves. There can be no illusions in the rapacious imperialist powers whose only interest is in-

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US sets up capture of Kurdish leader for Turkish regime

Freedom for Öcalan!

The kidnapping and arrest in Kenya of Kurdish nationalist leader Abdullah Öcalan on 15 February by Turkish security forces aided by the US placed his life in immediate peril. With Öcalan seized, the Turkish regime carried out mass arrests of Kurds in southeast Turkey and launched military attacks in northern Iraq against Öcalan's Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Leaflets were dropped from planes with photos of Öcalan blindfolded and humiliated by being forced to pose in front of Turkish flags. Actively supported by its NATO allies, Turkey has carried out a 14-year war against the oppressed Kurdish population that has left some 30,000 dead, totally destroyed 3500 villages and forced more than three million Kurds to flee their homes.

In response to the provocative seizure of Öcalan, and in the face of the deadly revenge which the blood-drenched Turkish dictatorship intends to extract as punishment for the Kurdish people's struggle, the PKK organised emergency protest demonstrations worldwide. In a score of European cities, protesters rallied in large numbers outside embassies and consulates. An estimated 20,000 turned out in London on 20 February, while some 50,000 demonstrated in Rome on 24 February. PKK supporters also initiated protests in Canada and Australia.

In Germany, where it is illegal even to display the banner of the PKK, Kurdish protesters repeatedly took to the streets in cities across the country. The demonstrations were met with naked repression, with hundreds of Kurds rounded up by the cops and now in danger of deportation to the Turkish torture chambers. In Berlin on 17 February, three Kurdish protesters were shot and killed (and a fourth died ten days later) by Israeli security guards outside the Israeli embassy; 16 demonstrators were injured and over 100 reportedly arrested. The International Communist League demands: Drop all charges against the Kurdish demonstrators! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The ICL has actively participated in the demonstrations to protest the persecution of Öcalan and the PKK and to defend the national rights of the Kurdish people. At many of the protests, other left groups have been conspicuous by their absence, apparently willing to leave Kurdish immigrants to stand alone in the face of repression. Our comrades have widely distributed a declaration issued on 18 February by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), where Turkish and Kurdish immigrant workers are a strategic component of the industrial working class. This declaration was issued in Turkish, German, Italian, French and English.

The capitalist governments in Europe, mostly headed by social democrats, seized on the militant protests to further foment racist hysteria against immigrants and to intensify police-state measures. In London

**Defend Kurds against bloody state terror!
No deportations! Full citizenship rights!
For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!**



Russell Boyce



Workers Hammer

London: Kurdish demonstrators being arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act after three-day occupation of the Greek embassy (left). Demonstration of 20,000 people on 20 February protesting the kidnapping of PKK leader Öcalan.

on 18 February, 77 Kurdish protesters were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act following a three-day occupation of the Greek embassy. In Berlin, all demonstrations were initially banned outright. The cops seized anyone with dark eyes in the vicinity of demonstration sites — a chilling reminder of the genocidal Nazi Third Reich. Social Democratic (SPD) interior minister Otto Schily has spearheaded a media campaign to brand the banned PKK and the Kurdish people as a whole as "terrorists". Simultaneously with its crackdown on the PKK, the SPD-Green Party regime imposed arbitration to seal a wage pact for Germany's largest union, IG Metall, heading off the prospect of a class battle in which German, Turkish and Kurdish workers would have challenged the capitalists and their government in united strike action.

At a 25 February rally and march to the Turkish consulate in Melbourne, Australia, Labor Party senator Kim Carr blatantly lied, telling the crowd that his party and the social democrats in Europe supported the Kurdish people. A speaker for the Spartakist League of Australia (SLA), demanding the dropping of all charges against arrested Kurdish protesters, pointed out that the state Labor government in New South

Wales sent its cops to viciously attack and arrest Kurdish protesters. In Europe, our comrade noted, Labor's social-democratic counterparts dish out the same treatment on behalf of their capitalist masters.

Pointing to Australian imperialism's support for Washington's war against the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers, and the Australian government's complicity in the Britain and US-led attacks against Iraq today, our comrade criticised the PKK and the Australian fake left for their programme of trying to pressure the imperialists to be "friends" of the oppressed. Fending off efforts at political censorship, the SLA speaker was cheered by many in the crowd when he called the imperialists the enemy of liberation. When he counterposed our call to free Öcalan now to the talk of a "fair trial" for the PKK leader "under international supervision", protesters started chanting, "Freedom for Öcalan". The discomfited chairman of the rally thanked the SLA speaker for his "interesting" remarks, adding, "Apologies to Kim Carr"!

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK calls on the United Nations and imperialist powers to broker a "political solution" to the Kurdish question in Turkey. Many signs and speakers at the various demon-

strations expressed the same illusions in NATO, the UN or the European Union. But the imperialists are the godfathers of the Turkish militarist government. The British and US imperialists are dead set against any expression of Kurdish national rights as this would weaken their Turkish ally — which has played a key role in their terror-bombing campaigns against Iraq — and destabilise the oil-rich region.

The PKK's nationalism is a dead end for the Kurdish people and their aspirations for national liberation. Only a thoroughgoing social revolution can liberate the toiling masses from the yoke of imperialism and capitalist exploitation. Even to achieve the democratic right of national self-determination for the Kurdish people requires uprooting capitalist rule throughout the entire region where the Kurds are concentrated. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian, and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be won to actively championing the Kurdish right of self-determination.

The potential for united class struggle was shown in the 1991 strike of 48,000 coal miners in Zonguldak, Turkey, carried out by both Turkish and Kurdish workers on the eve of the imperialist Gulf War

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